Luther's Works

The Freely Given Edition

Δωρεὰν ἐλάβετε, δωρεὰν δότε.

Luther's Works: The Freely Given Edition.

2026, Luke Smith

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Abbreviations

ANF	*The Ante-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, 10 vols., Christian Literature Company, Buffalo and New York, 1885-1896.
DRA	*Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Jüngere Reihe, unter Kaiser Karl V.* Erster Band: Kluckhorn, August (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1893). Zweiter Band: Wrede, Adolf (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1896).
EA	*Dr. Martin Luther's sämmtliche Werke* (Frankfurt and Erlangen, 1826-1857). 137 vols. Commonly called the Erlangen Edition of Luther's Works.
NPNF	*A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, The Christian Literature Company, 1886-1900. First series: 14 vols. Second series: 14 vols.
PE	*Works of Martin Luther with Introductions and Notes*, 6 vols, A. J. Holman Company, Philadelphia, 1915-1932. Commonly called the Philadelphia Edition of Luther's Works.
PL	Patrologia Latina, 217 vols., Jacques Paul Migne, 1841-1855
St.L	Joh. Georg Walch's *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften*, repr. by Concordia Publishing House, St. Louis, 23 vols. Commonly called the St. Louis Edition of Luther's Works
WA	Weimar Edition, Schriften, 72 vols., Weimar. The full title is *D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe*. It is also called the *Weimarer Ausgabe* (WA).
WA Tr.	Weimar Edition, Tischreden, 6 vols.
WA Br.	Weimar Edition, Briefwechsel, 18 vols.

A Note

This is an unpublished preview of Luther's Heidelberg Disputation which will be included in a future volume of *Luther's Works: The Freely Given Edition* dedicated to his works of 1518. There are no page numbers as these will change in the complete volume and make references to the work very confusing later on. Instead, the Weimar Edition's page numbers have been inserted into the Latin text in brackets (e.g. {p. 217}). These references will not change after the 1518[I] volume is published as the Weimar Edition is finished. The main purpose of releasing this unpublished version is to grant access to Luther's disputation in English online, which would be significantly delayed by the work of translating and editing other works. For an explanation on why this work is in the public domain, please visit the previously released volume available at books.freely.giving/, as well as Conley Owen's *The Dorean Principle* and Case, Owens, and Here's *Abolish the Jesus Trade*.

HEILDEBURG DISPUTATION

Disputatio Heidelbergae habita.
Conclusiones.

F. Martinus Lutherus, S. Theologiae Magister, praesidebit, F. Leonardus Beier, artium et Philosopiae Magister, respondebit, apud Augustinianos huius inclytae civitatis Heidelbergensis, loco solito, VI. Cal. Maii. MDXVIII.

Ex Theologia.

Diffidentes nobis ipsis prorsus iuxta illud spiritus consilium 'ne innitaris prudentiae tuae', humiliter offerimus omnium, qui adesse voluerint, iuditio haec Theologica paradoxa, ut vel sic appareat, bene an male elicita sint ex divo Paulo, vase et organo Christi electissimo, deinde et ex S. Augustino, interprete eiusdem fidelissimo.

1. Lex Dei, saluberrima vitae doctrina, non potest hominem ad iusticiam promovere, sed magis obest.
2. Multo minus opera hominum, naturalis dictaminis auxilio frequenter, ut dicitur, iterata, possunt promovere.
3. Opera hominum ut semper sint speciosa bonaque videantur, probabile tamen est ea esse peccata mortalia.
4. Opera Dei, ut semper sint deformia malaque videantur, vere tamen sunt merita immoralia.
5. Non sic sunt opera hominum mortalia (de bonis ut apparent loquimur), ut eadem sint crimina.
6. Non sic sunt opera Dei merita (de iis quae per hominem fiunt loquimur), ut eadem non sint peccata.
7. Iustorum opera essent mortalia, nisi pio Dei timore ab ipsismet iustis ut mortalia timerentur.
8. Multo magis hominum opera sunt mortalia, cum et sine timore fiant in mera et mala securitate.
9. Dicere, quod opera sine Christo sint quidem mortua sed non mortalia, videtur periculosa timoris Dei remissio.
10. Imo difficillimum est intelligere, quonam modo sit

The Heidelberg Disputation.
Theses.

Bro. Martin Luther, Master of Sacred Theology, will preside; Bro. Leonhard Beier, Master of Arts and Philosophy, will respond, before the Augustinians of this illustrious city of Heidelberg, in the customary place, on the sixth day before Calends of May 1518.[2]

From Theology.

Lacking confidence in ourselves entirely like that Spiritual counsel "Do not rely on your wisdom" [Prov. 3:5], humbly we offer to the judgment of everyone who may have wanted to be present these theological paradoxes, so that it will either thus appear whether they are well or badly elicited from St. Paul, the most elect vessel and organ of Christ, and then from St. Augustine, his most faithful interpreter.

1. The Law of God, the most salutary doctrine to life, is not able to advance man towards righteousness, but rather blocks.
2. Much less can works of man, often repeated often with the help of natural precepts, as it is said [by some], advance [towards justification].
3. While works of man are always splendid and seem good, nevertheless it is provable that they are mortal sins.
4. Works of God, while they are always unseemly and seem evil, nevertheless truly are immortal merits.
5. Works of man are not thus mortal sins (we speak of good works as they appear to be), as though they were crimes.
6. Works of God are not thus merits (we speak of those which occur through man), as though they were not sins.
7. Works of the righteous would be mortal sins if they were not feared as mortal sins by the righteous themselves in pious fear of God.
8. By much more are the works of man mortal sins, since they are done without fear in both pure and evil carelessness.
9. To say that works without Christ would certainly be dead but not mortal, seems a dangerous sending away of the fear of God.
10. On the contrary, it is difficult to know how it would be

[2] i.e. April 26, 1518.

opus mortuum, nec tamen noxium mortaleve peccatum. {354}

11. Non potest vitari praesumptio nec adesse vera spes, nisi in omni opere timeatur iudicium damnationis.

12. Tunc vere sunt peccata apud Deum venialia, quando timentur ab hominibus esse mortalia.
13. Liberum arbitrium post peccatum res est de solo titulo, et dum facit quod in se est, peccat mortaliter.

14. Liberum arbitrium post peccatum potest in bonum potentia subiectiva, in malum vero activa semper.

15. Nec in statu innocentiae potuit stare activa, sed subiectiva potentia, nedum in bonum proficere.

16. Homo putans, se ad gratiam velle pervenire faciendo quod est in se, peccatum addit peccato, ut duplo reus fiat.
17. Nec sic dicere est desperandi caussam dare, sed humiliandi, et quaerendae gratiae Christi studium excitare.
18. Certum est, hominem de se penitus oportere desperare, ut aptus fiat ad consequendam gratiam Christi.
19. Non ille digne Theologus dicitur, qui invisibilia Dei per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspicit.

20. Sed qui visibilia et posteriora Dei per passiones et crucem conspecta intelligit.
21. Theologus gloriae dicit malum bonum et bonum malum, Theologus crucis dicit id quod res est.

22. Sapientia illa, quae invisibilia Dei ex operibus intellecta conspicit, omnino inflat, exaecat et indurat.

23. Et lex iram Dei operatur, occidit, maledicit, reum facit, iudicat, damnat, quicquid non est in Christo.

24. Non tamen sapientia illa mala nec lex fugienda, Sed homo sine Theologia crucis optimis pessime abutitur.

25. Non ille iustus est qui multum operatur, Sed qui sine opere multum credit in Christum.
26. Lex dicit 'fac hoc', et nunquam fit: gratia dicit 'Crede in hunc', et iam facta sunt omnia.
27. Recte opus Christi dicerentur operans et nostrum

a dead work, and yet neither a harmful nor a mortal sin.

11. It is not possible to avoid arrogance and for true hope to be present, if the judgment of damnation is not feared in every work.
12. Then truly sins are venial before God, when they are feared by man to be mortal.
13. Free will, after the Fall [*post peccatum*], is a matter of title only, and while it does what is in itself, it sins mortally.
14. Free will after the Fall is able to do good in passive potency; truly it is always able to do evil in active potency.
15. Nor in an innocent state[3] was free will able to stand by active potency, but passive potency, and still less to accomplish in accordance with good.
16. The man who thinks that he wants to arrive at grace by doing what is in him, adds sin to sin, so that he becomes twice guilty.
17. Nor is it that to speak thus gives cause of despairing, but of humbling, and to excite the zeal of searching for Christ's grace.
18. It is certain that man is thoroughly required to despair concerning himself, so that he becomes suitable to catch the grace of Christ.
19. That person is unworthily called a theologian, who observes the invisible things of God understood through those things which have been made.
20. But [rather] he who understands the visible and back things of God seen through sufferings and the cross.
21. A theologian of glory calls bad good and good bad [Isa. 5:20], the theologian of the cross calls it what thing it is.
22. That wisdom which observes the invisible things of God as understood from works, entirely inflates, cuts off, and makes hard.
23. And the law works the wrath of God; it kills, curses, makes guilty, judges, and damns whatever is not in Christ.
24. Nevertheless, that wisdom is not bad nor is the law to be fled, but man without the theology of the cross badly squanders the best.
25. That one is not righteous who works much, but he who without work believes much in Christ.
26. The law says "do this", and it is done never; grace says "believe in this", and already all is done.
27. The work of Christ would correctly be called working

[3] e.g. the Garden of Eden.

operatum, ac sic operatum placere Deo gratia operis operantis.

28. Amor Dei non invenit sed creat suum diligibile, Amor hominis fit a suo diligibili. {355}

Ex Philosophia.

29. Qui sine periculo volet in Aristotele Philosophari, necesse est ut ante bene stultificetur in Christo.

30. Sicut libidinis malo non utitur bene nisi coniugatus, ita nemo Philosophatur bene nisi stultus, id est Christianus.
31. Facile fuit Aristoteli mundum aeternum opinari, quando anima humana mortalis est eius sententia.

32. Postquam receptum est tot esse formas substanciales quot composita, necessario et tot esse materias fuerat recipiendem.
33. Ex nulla re mundi aliquid fit necessario, Ex materia tamen necessario fit quicquid fit naturaliter.

34. Si Aristoteles absolutam cognovisset potentiam Dei, adhuc impossibile asseruisset materiam stare nudam.

35. Infinitum actu nullum est, potentia tamen et materia tot sunt quot in rebus composita, iuxta Aristotelem.

36. Aristoteles male reprehendit ac ridet Platonicarum Idearum meliorem sua Philosophiam.
37. Imitatio numerorum in rebus ingeniose asseritur a Pythagora, Sed ingeniosius participatio Idearum a Platone.
38. Disputatio Aristotelis adversus unum illud Parmenidis verberat (Christiano venia sit) aera pugnis.

39. Si Anaxagoras infinitum forma posuit, ut videtur, optimus Philosophorum fuit, invito etiam Aristotele.

40. Apud Aristotelem videtur idem esse privatio, materia, forma, mobile, immobile, actus, potentia &c.

[*operans*] and ours worked [*operatum*], and thus that worked [work] would please God by the grace of working work.
28. The love of God does not find but creates what is lovable; the love of man results from what is lovable to it.

From Philosophy.

29. It is necessary that he first be well stupefied in Christ who wants to philosophize in Aristotle without danger.
30. Just as one does not use the evil of lust well if he is not married, so too no one philosophizes well if he is not foolish, that is, Christian.
31. It was easy for Aristotle to imagine that the world is eternal, when his opinion was the human soul is mortal.
32. After it was accepted that there are as many Substantial Forms as composite things, necessarily it also had to be accepted that there are so many materials.
33. Nothing necessarily comes about from something of the world, nevertheless, whatever happens naturally happens necessarily from the material.
34. If Aristotle would have known the absolute power of God, he still would have claimed that it is impossible for material to stand alone.
35. According to Aristotle there is no infinite regarding act, yet, regarding potency and material, there are as many as there are composites among things.
36. Aristotle wrongly blames and ridicules the better philosophy of Platonic Ideas.
37. The imitation of numbers in things is ingeniously asserted by Pythagorus, but more ingenious is the participation of Ideas by Plato.
38. The disputation of Aristotle against that One of Parmenides strikes (let there be pardon for a Christian) like a fight of air [1 Cor. 9:26].
39. If Anaxagoras posited infinity regarding form, as it seems, he was the best of the philosophers, even with resistant Aristotle.
40. Privation, material, form, the movable, the immovable, act, potency, etc. seem to be the same in the view of Aristotle.

Probationes Conclusionum
Quae in Capitulo Heidelbergensi Disputae Sunt
Anno salutis nostrae M.D.XVIII, Mense Maio.

Conslusio I.
Lex Dei, saluberrima vitae doctrina, non potest hominem ad iusticiam promovere, sed magis obest.

Patet per Apostolum ad Romanos 3. Sine Lege iusticia Dei manifestata est. Quod B. Augustinus libro de spiritu et litera exponit: Sine Lege, scilicet adiuvante. Et Roma. 5. Lex subintravit, ut peccatum abundaret. {356} Et 7. Cum venisset mandatum, revixit peccatum. Unde capite 8. appellat Legem legem mortis et legem peccati. Imo 2. Corinth. 3. Litera occidit. Quod B. Augustinus per totum librum de spiritu et litera intelligit de qualibet etiam sanctissima lege Dei.

II.
Multominus opera hominum, naturalis dictaminis auxilio frequenter (ut dicitur) iterata, possunt promovere.

Quia cum Lex Dei sancta et immaculata, vera, iusta &c. homini sit in auxilium a Deo data ultra vires suas naturales, ut illuminet ac moveat ad bonum, et tamen contrarium fit, ut magis fiat malus, Quomodo suis relictus viribus, sine tali auxilio, ad bonum postest promoveri? Minus facit ex suo proprio, qui non facit bonum alterius auxilio. Unde Apostolus ad Rom. 3. Omnes homines corruptos et inutiles, nec Deum intelligentes nec requirentes, sed omnes dicit declinantes.

III.
Opera hominum ut semper speciosa sint bonaque videantur, probabile tamen est ea esse peccata mortalia.

Opera hominum videntur speciosa, sed intus sunt foeda, ut Christus de Pharisaeis Matt. 23. dicit. Videntur enim sibi et aliis bona et pulchra, Sed Deus est, qui non iudicat secundum faciem, sed scrutatur renes et corda. At sine gratia et fide impossibile est mundum haberi cor. Act. 15.

Proofs of the Theses
Debated at the Chapter of Heidelberg
In the year of our salvation 1518, in the month of May

Thesis 1.
The Law of God, the most salutary doctrine to life, is not able to advance man towards righteousness, but rather blocks.

...lies open through the Apostle at Romans 3[:21]: "The righteousness of God is manifest without the Law." Which St. Augustine expounds in his book *On the Spirit and the Letter*: "Without Law; truly without help." And Rom. 5[:20]: "The Law entered secretly, so that it multiplied sin." And 7[:9]: "When the commandment came, sin lived again." From where in chapter 8[:2] he called the Law the law of death and the law of sin. In fact, in 2 Cor. 3[:6], "the letter kills," which St. Augustine throughout the whole book *On the Spirit and the Letter* understands as regarding whichever law you choose, and, moreover, the holiest one of God.

2.
Much less can works of man, often repeated often with the help of natural precepts, as it is said [by some], advance [towards justification].

Since the holy, immaculate, true, just, etc. Law of God is given to man by God as a help beyond his natural strengths so that he lights up and moves toward good, and yet the opposite happens, so that one becomes more evil; how can those forsaken to their strengths, without such help, be advanced toward good? He does even less good out of his own self who does not do good by the help of another. Whence the Apostle at Rom. 3[:1-12]: " 'All men are corrupt and unhelpful, who neither know nor seek God, but all turn away,' says God."

3.
While works of man are always splendid and seem good, nevertheless it is provable that they are mortal sins.

Works of man seem splendid, but are disgusting on the inside, as Christ says about the Pharisees in Matt. 23[:27]. For they seem to oneself and others good and good-looking; But it is God who does not judge according to appearance, but searches the kidneys and the heart. [Ps. 7:9] But

Fide purificans corda eorum.

Probatur itaque Conclusio: Si opera hominum iustorum sunt peccata, ut Conclusio vij. Dicit, multo magis hominum nondum iustorum. At iusti pro suis operibus dicunt: Non intres in iudicium cum servo tuo, Domine, quia non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens. Item Apostolus Gala. 3. Qui sunt ex operibus Legis, sub maledicto sunt. Sed opera hominum sunt opera Legis, Et maledictio non venialibus attribuitur peccatis, ergo mortalia sunt. Tertio Ro. 2. Qui doces, non furandum, furaris. Quod B. Augustinus exponit: scilicet rea voluntate sunt fures, etsi foris iudicent ac doceant alios fures.

without grace and faith it is impossible for a clean heart to be had. Acts 15: "He cleanses their hearts by faith."

And so the thesis is proven: If works of righteous men are sins, as the seventh thesis says, much more are those of men not yet righteous. But the just on account of their works say: Do not enter into judgment with your servant, Lord, because everyone living will not be justified in your sight. Similarly the Apostle in Gal. 3[:10]: "They who are of works of the Law are under a curse." But works of men are works of the Law, And a curse is not imputed to venial sins; therefore they are mortal. Third, Rom. 2[:21]: "You who teach not to steal, do you steal?" Which St. Augustine expounds: certainly by guilty consciences they are thieves, even if in the forum they were to judge and reveal other thieves.

IIII.

Opera Dei, ut semper sint deformia malaque videantur, vere tamen sunt merita immoralia.

Opera Dei esse deformia, patet per illud Esa. 53. Non est ei species neque decor, Et 1. Reg. 2. Dominus mortificat et vivificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit. Hoc sic intelligitur, quod Dominus humiliat et perterrefacit nos Lege et conspecta peccatorum nostrum, ut tam coram hominibus quam {357} coram nobis videamur esse nihil, stulti, mali, imo vere tales sumus. Quod cum agnoscimus atque confitemur, nulla in nobis est species neque decor, sed vivimus in abscondito Dei (id est, in nuda fiducia misericordiae eius) in nobis habentes responsum peccati, stulticiae, mortis et inferni, Iuxta illud Apostoli 2. Corinth. 6. Quasi tristes, semper autem gaudentes, quasi mortui et ecce vivimus. Et hoc est, quod Esaias ca. 28. vocat, opus alienum Dei, ut operetur opus suum (id est, nos humiliat in nobis, desperantes faciens, ut exaltet in sua misericordia, sperantes faciens), Sicut Hab. 3. Cum iratus fueris, misericordiae recordaberis. Talis ergo homo sibi displicet in omnibus operibus suis, nullum decorem, sed solam suam deformitatem videt. Imo etiam foris facit, quae aliis stulta et deformia videntur.

Fit autem deformitas illa in nobis vel a Deo flagellante vel a nobis ipsis accusando, Iuxta illud 1. Corinth. 11. Si nos ipsos iudicaremus, non utique iudicaremur a Domino. Hoc est, quod Deut. 32. Iudicabit Dominus populum suum et in servis suis deprecabitur. Sic itaque opera deformia, quae Deus in nobis operatur, id est, humilia et timorata sunt vere immortalia, quia humilitas et timor Dei est totum meritum.

4.

Works of God, while they are always unseemly and seem evil, nevertheless truly are immortal merits.

That the works of God are deformed lies open by Isa. 53: "He is not grand or beautiful", And 1 Sam. 2: "The Lord kills and vivifies, leads down to the infernos and restores." [2:6] This is thus understood, that the Lord humbles and terrifies us by the Law and vision of our sin, so that we appear to be before the eye of men as we appear before ourselves, nothing, stupid, bad, in fact, truly as we are. As far as we recognize and confess this, nothing in us is stately or beautiful, but we live in the shelter of God (that is, in naked confidence in his mercy) holding in us the response of sin, foolishness, death, and hell, Like that of the Apostle at 2 Cor. 6: "Just like sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; just like dead, and, behold, we live." [6:9-10] And it is this, which Isaiah in ch. 28[:21] calls foreign works of God, so that he might perform his work (that is, he humbles us in ourselves, making desperate, so that he would exalt in his mercy, making hopeful); thus Hab. 3[:2], "When you are enraged, remember mercy." Therefore, such a man is displeasing himself in all of his works, none are pretty, but he only sees his deformity. Moreover, on the contrary, he does publicly what seems stupid and deformed to others.

However, that deformity is made in us either with God flogging us or with us accusing ourselves, As that passage in 1 Cor. 11[:31]: "If we were to judge ourselves, certainly we would not be judged by God." This is what Deut. 32[:36] [states]: "The Lord will judge his people and will beg pardon for his servants." And thus, the deformed works which God works in us, that is, those humble and reverent ones, are indeed, immortal, because humility and fear of

V.

Non sic sunt opera hominum mortalia (de bonis ut apparent loquimur), ut eadem sint crimina.

Crimina enim sunt, quae accusari possunt etiam coram hominibus, ut adulteria, furta, homicidia obloquutiones &c. Sed mortalia sunt, quae apparent bona et tamen intus sunt malae radicis et malae arboris fructus. Augustinus libro 4. contra Iulianum.

VI.

Non sic sunt opera Dei merita (de iis quae per hominem fiunt loquimur), ut eadem non sint peccata.

Ecclesiastes 7. Non est iustus in terra, qui faciat bene et non peccet. Hic autem ab aliis dicitur, quod iustus quidem peccet, sed non quando benefacit. Quibus respondetur: Si id vellet haec Autoritas, quid superfluit verbis? An spiritus Sanctus delectatur multiloquio et nugatione? Nam iste sensus fuisset abunde sic expressus: Non est iustus in terra, qui non peccet, ut quid addit 'qui benefacit'? Quasi alius sit iustus, qui faciat male. Non enim nisi iustus facit bene. At ubi de peccatis extra benefacta loquitur, sic dicit: Septies in die cadit iustus. Hic non dicit: Septies in die cadit iustus, quando benefacit. Est enim simile: sicut si quis cum securi corrosa et dentata secet, licet operator sit bonus faber, tamen securis facit malas et difficiles ac deformes incisiones, Sic Deus per nos operans &c. {358}

VII.

Iustorum opera essent mortalia, nisi pio Dei timore ab ipsismet iustis ut mortalia timerentur.

Patet ex iiij. Conclusione, Quia confidere in opus, de quo debuit timere, est sibi gloriam dare et Deo auferre, cui timor debetur in omni opere. Haec autem tota est perversitas, scilicet sibi placere fruique seipso in operibus suis seque idolum adorare. Taliter autem omnino facit, qui securus et sine timore Dei est. Si enim timeret, non esset securus, ideoque nec sibi placeret, sed in Deo sibi placeret.

Secundo, Ex illo Psalmi dicto: Non intres in iudicium cum servo tuo, Et Psal. 32 Dixi, confitebor adversum me

God are merit entire.

5.

Works of man are not thus mortal sins (we speak of good works as they appear to be), as though they were crimes.

For crimes are those which also are able to be blamed before the eyes of men, such as adultery, theft, murder, slander, etc. But mortal sins are those which appear good and on the inside are nevertheless the fruit of an evil root and an evil tree. Augustine, book 4, *Against Julian*.

6.

Works of God are not thus merits (we speak of those which occur through man), as though they were not sins.

Ecclesiastes 7 [:20]: "There is not a righteous one on earth who does good and does not sin." However, here it is said by others [JEROME] that the righteous one does indeed sin, but not when he does good. To them it is responded: "If the verse wanted this judgment, why overflow with words?" Or does the Holy Spirit delight in excessive talking and nonsense? For that sense would have been expressed more than enough thus: "There is not a righteous one on the earth who does not sin"; so why add 'who does good' as if another were righteous who does bad? For one does not do good unless he is righteous. But where he speaks concerning sin outside of good deeds, he thus speaks: "Seven times a day the righteous one falls." [Prov. 24:16] Here he does not say: "Seven times a day the righteous one falls when he does good." For this is a comparison: It is as if one cuts with a chewed-up and jagged ax, although the worker is a good carpenter, nevertheless, he makes bad and troublesome, and even deformed cuts. Thus is God working through us, &c.

7.

Works of the righteous would be mortal sins if they were not feared as mortal sins by the righteous themselves in pious fear of God.

... lies open from the fourth thesis; because to trust in work, to which one owes fear, is to give glory to oneself and to snatch it from God, to whom fear is owed in all work. However, this is totally perverse, namely, to please oneself and to enjoy oneself in one's works, and to worship oneself as an idol. However, one does everything in this way who is untroubled and without fear of God. For if one were to have feared, one would not be carefree, and therefore would not please oneself, but would please himself in God.

iniusticiam meam Domino &c. Quod autem haec non sint venialia, patet, quia illi dicunt, pro venialibus non necessariam confessionem et poenitentiam. Si ergo sunt mortalia et omnes Sancti pro eis orant, ut ibidem dicit, Ergo Sanctorum opera sunt peccata mortalia. Sed Sanctorum opera sunt peccata mortalia. Sed Sanctorum opera sunt bona opera, quare non nisi per timorem humilis confessionis sunt eis meritoria.

Tertio, Ex oratione Dominica: Dimitte nobis debita nostra. Haec est oratio Sanctorum, ergo debita illa sunt bona opera, pro quibus orant. At quod illa sint mortalia, patet ex sequentibus: Si non remiseritis peccata hominibus, nec Pater vester coelestis remittet vobis peccata vestra. Ecce talia sunt quae damnarent non remissa, nisi orarent vere hanc orationem et remitterent aliis.

Quarto, Apoca. 21. Nihil inquinatum intrabit in regnum coelorum. Sed omne impediens introitum regni est mortale (aut aliter definiendum est mortale), Peccatum autem veniale impedit, quia inquinat animam, et non stat in regno coelorum, ergo &c.

Second, out of that saying of the Psalmist [143:2]: "Do not enter into judgment with your servant," and Ps. 32[:5]: "I said I will confess against myself my injustice to the Lord etc." However, it lies open that these are not venial sins because they say on behalf of venial sins there is no necessary confession and repentance. Therefore, if they are mortal sins and all of the saints pray on behalf of them, as it is said in the same place, then the works of the saints are mortal sins. But the works of the saints are good works, wherefore they are not meritorious to them if [they are] not of fear of humble confession.

Third, from the Lord's Prayer: "send away from us our debts." [Matt. 6:12] This is the prayer of the saints, therefore their debts are good works, on behalf of which they pray. But that they would be mortal sins lies open from the following: "If you all do not send away the sins of man, neither will your Father of heaven send away from you all your sins." [Matt. 6:15] Look, these are such that they would be condemned and not remitted, unless they truly pray this prayer and remit others.

Fourth, Rev. 21[:27]: "Nothing polluted will enter into the kingdom of heaven." But every impediment to the entrance of the kingdom is mortal sin (or, mortal sin must be defined otherwise), however, venial sin impedes because it pollutes the soul and does not remain in the kingdom of heaven. Therefore, &c.

VIII.

Multomagis hominum opera sunt mortalia, cum et sine timore fiant in mera et mala securitate.

Patet necessaria consequentia ex praecedente. Nam ubi non est timor, ibi nulla humilitas, ubi nulla humilitas, ibi superbia, ibi ira et iudicium Dei: Deus enim superbis resistit, Imo cesset superbia, et nullum peccatum uspiam erit.

8.

By much more are the works of man mortal sins, since they are done without fear in both pure and evil carelessness.

This inevitable logical consequence lies open from the preceding. For where there is not fear, there is no humility, where there is no humility, there is arrogance: [and] there is the wrath and judgment of God: For God opposes the arrogant, on the contrary, were pride to quit, there would be no sin anywhere.

IX.

Dicere, quod opera extra Christum sint quidem mortua, sed non mortalia, videtur periculosa timoris Dei remissio.

Quia sic homines fiunt securi ac per hoc superbi, quod est periculosum. Quia sic Deo assidue et differtur sibi debita gloria, cum omni studio sit eo festinandum, ut quantocius ei sua reddatur gloria. Ideo consulit Scriptura: Ne tardes converti ad Dominum. Si enim offendit, qui subtrahit gloriam, quanto magis offendit, qui subtractam continuat et in hoc ipso {359} securus agit. At qui non est in Christo

9.

To say that works without Christ would certainly be dead but not mortal, seems a dangerous sending away of the fear of God.

Because thus men have become carefree and, through this, arrogant, which is dangerous. Because thus the glory owed to Him is continually scattered away from God, although one should hurry in all his zeal, so that -- the sooner the better -- he returns to Him His glory. Therefore Scripture advises that "you are not to delay being converted to the Lord." For if he offends who steals glory, how much more

aut recedit ab eo, subtrahit ei gloriam, ut notum est.

X.

Imo difficilimum est intelligere, quonam modo sit opus mortuum, nec tamen noxium mortaleve peccatum.

Probo: Quia scriptura non habet istum de mortuis loquendi modum, quod aliquid sit non mortale, quod tamen sit mortuum, Imo nec Grammatica, quae mortuum plus esse dicit quam mortale. Mortale enim opus, quod occidit, ipsi dicunt, Mortuum vero non occisum, sed non vivum. At non vivum Deo displicet, ut Proverb. 15. scribitur: Victimae impiorum abominabiles.

Secundo, Oportet omnino circa talem actum mortuum voluntatem aliquid agere, scilicet vel amando vel odiendo eum. Odisse non potest, cum sit mala. Amat ergo, ergo amat mortuum. Ac sic in eo ipso elicit malum actum voluntatis contra Deum, quem amare debuit et glorificare in eo et in omni opere.

XI.

Non potest vitari praesumptio nec adesse vera spes, nisi in omni opere timeatur iudicium damnationis.

Patet supra ex iiij. Conclusione, Quia impossibile est in Deum sperare, nisi de omnibus creaturis desperetur sciatque sibi nihil prodesse citra Deum posse. At cum nullus sit, qui hanc puram spem habeat, ut supra diximus, ac sic nonnihil in creaturam confidamus, patet, quod propter immundiciam in omnibus timendum est Dei iudicium. Et sic praesumptio vitetur non re, sed affectu, id est, quod displicet nobis adhuc esse in fiducia creaturae.

XII.

Tunc vere sunt peccata apud Deum venialia, quando timentur ab hominibus esse mortalia.

Patet satis ex dictis, quia quantum nos accusamus, tantum Deus excusat, Iuxta illud: Dic iniquitates tuas, ut iustificeris, Et illud: Ut non declinet cor meum in verba

does that one offend who prolongs running off with items and makes himself untroubled in this! But he who is not in Christ or recedes from Him, runs off with glory from Him, as is well known.

10.

On the contrary, it is difficult to know how it would be a dead work, and yet neither a harmful nor a mortal sin.

I prove: Because Scripture does not have such a way of speaking about dead things, with respect to which [way] something would not be mortal which would yet be dead. On the contrary, neither does grammar, which says that 'dead' is more than 'mortal'. For the grammarians themselves call that which kills a mortal work, indeed, [they call] a dead work not one that has been killed, but one that is not alive. But that which is not alive displeases God, as it is written in Prov. 15: "The sacrifices of the impious are abominations." [Prov. 15:8]

Second, it is altogether necessary that the will do something concerning such an act of death, namely, either loving or hating it. It cannot have hated [a dead work] since it is evil. It loves therefore, [and] loves a dead thing. And thus in that [act] itself it elicits an evil act of the will against God, whom it should love and glorify in this and in all work.

11.

It is not possible to avoid arrogance and for true hope to be present, if the judgment of damnation is not feared in every work.

... lies open previously from the fourth thesis, because it is impossible to trust in God, unless hope is given up in all creatures and one knows that nothing is able to be useful to oneself short of God. But since there is no one who has this pure trust, as we spoke of above, and thus we trust in the creature a certain amount, it lies open that on account of the dirtiness in all things the judgment of God must be feared. And thus arrogance is avoided not in work, but in affection, that is, it displeases us to still be in the confidence of the creature.

12.

Then truly sins are venial before God, when they are feared by man to be mortal.

... lies open from that which has been said, because as much as we accuse ourselves, so much does God excuse, like that one: "Speak your iniquities so that you will be justified"

maliciae ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis.

XIII.

Liberum arbitrium post peccatum res est de solo titulo, et dum facit quod in se est, peccat mortaliter.

Prima pars patet, quia est captivum et servum peccato, non quod sit nihil, sed quod non sit liberum, nisi ad malum. Iohan. 8. Qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati. Si Filius vos liberaverit, vere liberi estis. Inde B. Augustinus libro de spiritu et litera dicit: Liberum arbitrium sine gratia {360} non nisi ad peccandum valet, Et libro 2. Contra Iulianum: Liberum vos vocatis, imo servum arbitrium &c. Et innumeris aliis locis.

Secunda pars patet ex supradictis et illo Hose. 13. Perditio tua ex te, Israel, ex me tantummodo auxilium tuum &c.

XIIII.

Liberum arbitrium post peccatum potest in bonum potentia subiectiva, in malum vero semper activa.

Quia sicut homo mortuus potest in vitam solum subiective, in mortem vero etiam active, dum vivit. Liberum autem arbitrium est mortuum, significatum per mortuos illos, quos Dominus suscitavit, ut dicunt Doctores sancti. Probat insuper B. Augustinus in diversis locis contra Pelagianos eandem Conslusionem.

XV.

Nec in statu innocentiae potuit stare activa, sed subiectiva potentia, nedum in bonum proficere.

Magister Sententiarum lib. 2. dist. 24. cap. 1. allegans Augustinum in fine sic dicit: His testimoniis evidenter monstratur, quod homo rectitudinem et bonam voluntatem in creatione accepit atque auxilium, quo stare poterat, alioqui non sua culpa videretur cecidisse. Loquitur de potentia activa, quod aperte est contra Augustinum in libro de cor. et gra. ubi sic dicit: Acceperat posse, si vellet, sed non habuit velle, quo posset, Per 'posse' intelligens potentiam subjectivam et per 'velle, quo posset', potentiam

[Isa. 43:26, LXX] and that one: "Incline not my heart in the words of the wicked towards explaining excuses in sin." [Ps. 141:4]

13.

Free will, after the Fall [post peccatum], is a matter of title only, and while it does what is in itself, it sins mortally.

The first part lies open, because free will is a captive and slave to sin, not that it may be nothing, but that it would not be free except for evil. John 8[:34, 36]: "He who sins is a slave of sin. If the Son has freed you all, truly you all are free." From this Augustine says in the book *On the Spirit and the Letter*: "Free will without grace is not strong except towards sin." And in the second book of *Against Julian*: "You all call it free; on the contrary, the will is enslaved &c." And in innumerable other places.

The second part lies open from what was said above and that [verse] in Hos. 13: "Your destruction is from you, Israel; only from me is your help." [Hos. 13:9]

14.

Free will after the Fall is able to do good in passive potency; truly it is always able to do evil in active potency.

... because while he lives the dead man is able to do something in accordance with life only passively, and even, in truth, in accordance with death actively. However, free will is dead, as signified by those dead ones whom the Lord has awoken, as the holy doctors say. In addition, St. Augustine proves this same thesis against the Pelagians in various locations.

15.

Nor in an innocent state [i.e. in the Garden of Eden] was it [i.e. free will] able to stand by active potency, but passive potency, [and] still less to accomplish in accordance with good.

The Master of the *Sentences*[4] in book 2, distinction 24, chapter 1, putting forth Augustine, thus speaks: By these testimonies it is clearly demonstrated that man accepted uprightness and a good will in creation and the help by which he was able to stand; otherwise, it would seem that he had fallen not by his own fault. He speaks concerning active power, which is openly against Augustine in the book *De Correptione et Gratia*, where Augustine speaks thus: "He had received the to-be-able-to, if he were to will to, but

[4] i.e. Peter Lombard

activam.

Secunda autem pars satis patet ex Magistro in eadem distinctione.

XVI.

Homo putans, se ad gratiam velle pervenire faciendo quod in se est, peccatum addit peccato, ut duplo reus fiat.

Quia ex dictis patet: dum facit quod est in se, peccat et sua querit omnino. At si per peccatum putet se dignum fieri gratia aut aptum ad gratiam, iam superbam addit praesumptionem et peccatum non peccatum et malum non malum credit, quod est nimis grande peccatum. Sic Iere. 2. Peccatum duplex peccavit populus meus, me dereliquerunt fontem vivum et foderunt sibi cisternas dissipatas, quae non valent aquas continere, id est, per peccatum sunt longe a me, et tamen praesumunt bonum facere ex se.

Dicis ergo: Quid igitur faciemus? Vacabimus ocio, quia nihil nisi peccatum facimus? Respondeo: Non, Sed his auditis procide et ora gratiam spemque tuam in Christum transfer, in quo est salus, vita et resurrectio nostra. Quia ideo haec docemur, ideo Lex notum facit peccatum, ut cognito peccato gratia queratur et impetretur. Sic sic humilibus dat gratiam, et qui {361} humiliatur, exaltatur. Lex humiliat, gratia exaltat. Lex timorem et iram, gratia spem et misericordiam operatur. Per Legem enim cognitio peccati, per cognitionem autem peccati humilitas, per humilitatem gratia acquiritur. Sic opus alienum Dei inducit tandem opus eius proprium, dum facit peccatorem, ut iustum faciat.

XVII.

Nec sic dicere est desperandi causam dare, sed humiliandi, et quaerendae gratiae Christi studium excitare.

Patet ex dictis, quia cum secundum Euangelium parvulis et humilibus datum sit regnum coelorum et Christus eos amet. Humilies autem esse non possunt, qui non intelligunt se peccatores damnabiles et foetidos. Peccatum autem non agnoscitur nisi per Legem. Patet quod non desperatio, sed spes potius praedicatur quando nos esse

did not have the to-will-to, by which he would be able to." By "the to-be-able-to" passive power is meant, and meant by "the to-will-to, by which he would have been able to" is active power.

However, the second part is sufficiently open from the Master in the same distinction.

16.

The man who thinks that he wants to arrive at grace by doing what is in him, adds sin to sin, so that he becomes twice guilty.

Because this lies open from what has been said: while one does what is in himself, he sins and searches for himself in everything. But if through sin he should think himself to become worthy or suitable for grace, now he adds arrogance to presumption and believes sin not to be sin and evil not to be evil, which is too large a sin. Thus Jere. 2: "My people sin a double sin, they forsook me, the fountain of life, and dug themselves broken cisterns, which are not strong enough to hold water." That is, through sin they are far from me, and nevertheless presume to do good from themselves.

Then you say: "Well, what shall we do? Shall we be empty in leisure because we do nothing except sin? I respond: No, but fall down prostrate due to these heard things and pray for grace and transfer your hope to Christ, in whom there is our salvation, life, and resurrection. Because for this reason we are taught these things, for this reason the Law makes sin well-known, so that by experienced sin grace is sought and obtained. Thus to the humble he gives grace [I Pet. 5:5], and he who is humbled is exalted [Matt. 23:12]. The Law humbles, grace exalts. The Law works fear and wrath; grace: hope and mercy. For through the Law is knowledge of sin [Rom. 3:20], however, through knowledge of sin is humility, through humility grace is acquired. Thus a work alien to God, nevertheless leads into a work of his very own: he makes a sinner, until he makes one righteous.

17.

Nor is it that to speak thus gives cause of despairing, but of humbling, and to excite the zeal of searching for Christ's grace.

... lies open from what has been said, since according to the Gospel [Mark 10:14, 16] the kingdom of heaven was given to the little ones and the humble, and Christ loves them. However, they are not able to be humble ones who do not understand themselves to be damnable and stinking sinners. It lies open that not desperation, but hope is rather

peccatores praedicatur. Illa enim praedicatio peccati est praeparatio ad gratiam seu potius agnitio peccati et fides talis praedicationis. Tunc enim surgit desiderium gratiae, quando orta est peccati cognitio. Tunc aeger querit medicinam, quando intelligit malum sui morbi. Sicut itaque non est causam desperationis vel mortis dare, quando aegroto dicitur periculum sui morbi, sed potius est eum provocare ad curam medicinae querendae, Ita dicere quod nihil sumus et semper peccamus, quando facimus quod in nobis est, non est desperatos (nisi sint stultu) sed sollicitos ad gratiam Domini nostri Ihesu Christi facere.

proclaimed when it is proclaimed that we are sinners. For that proclamation of sin is preparation toward grace or, rather, recognition of sin and faith in such a proclamation. Then a desire for grace rises up, when acquaintance with sin is born. Then the sick one seeks the doctor, when he understands the calamity of his illness. And so, just as it is not a cause of desperation or of giving death, when the danger of his death is told to the sick one, but rather it is to provoke him toward the cure of the doctor of that which is to be lamented, so too to say that we are nothing and always sin, when we do what is in us, is not to make desperate (unless they are stupid) but anxious toward the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ.

XVIII.

Certum est, hominem de se penitus oportere desperare, ut aptus fiat ad consequendam gratiam Christi.

18.

It is certain that man is thoroughly required to despair concerning himself, so that he becomes suitable to catch the grace of Christ.

Id enim Lex vult, ut homo de se desperet, dum eum deducit ad Infernos et pauperem facit et peccatorem ostendit in omnibus sius operibus, ut Roma. 2. et 3. facit Apostolos dicens: Causati sumus omnes esse sub peccato. Qui autem facit quod in se est et credit se aliquid boni facere, non omnino sibi nihil videtur, nec de suis viribus desperat, imo tantum praesumit, quod ad gratiam suis viribus nititur.

For the Law wills this [outcome], so that man despairs concerning himself, until it leads him down to hell and makes him a pauper and shows him to be a sinner in all of his works, as Rom. 2 and 3[:9] do, when the Apostle says: "We charge that all are under sin." [Rom. 3:9] However, he who does what is in him believes himself to do something good, does not seem to himself to be altogether nothing, nor does he despair concerning his powers, on the contrary, he greatly presumes that by his powers he is pressing on toward grace.

XIX.

Non ille digne Theologus dicitur, qui invisibilia Dei per ea, quae facta sunt, intellecta conspicit.

19.

That person is unworthily called a theologian, who observes the invisible things of God understood through those things which have been made.

Patet per eos, qui tales fuerunt Et tamen ab Apostolo Roma. 1. stulti vocantur. Porro invisibilia Dei sunt, divinitas, sapientia, iusticia, bonitas, &c. haec omnia cognita non faciunt dignum nec sapientem. {362}

... lies open by those who were such, and, nevertheless, by the Apostle in Rom. 1 are called fools. Since, of old the invisible things of God are divinity, wisdom, justice, goodness, etc. all these acquainted things do not make one worthy or wise.

XX.

Sed qui visibilia et posteriora Dei per passiones et crucem conspecta intelligit.

20.

But [rather] he who understands the visible and back things of God seen through sufferings and the cross.

Posteriora et visibilia Dei sunt opposita invisibilium, id est, humanitas, infirmitas, stulticia, Sicut 1. Corinth. 1. vocat infirmum et stultum Dei. Quia enim homines cognitione Dei ex operibus abusi sunt, voluit rursus Deus ex passionibus cognosci et reprobare illam sapientiam

The back and visible things of God are opposed to the invisible, that is, humanity, weakness, foolishness, just as Paul in 1 Cor. 1[:25] calls them [the visible things] the weakness and foolishness of God. For because humans wasted the knowledge of God by works, God wanted in

invisibilium per sapientiam visibilium, ut sic, qui Deum non coluerunt manifestum ex operibus, colerent absconditum in passionibus, Sicut ait 1. Corinth. 1. Quia in Dei sapientia non cognovit mundus Deum per sapientiam, placuit Deo per stulticiam praedicationis salvos facere credentes, Ita ut nulli iam satis sit ac prosit, qui cognoscit Deum in gloria et maiestate, nisi cognoscat eundem in humilitate et ignominia crucis. Sic perdit sapientiam sapientum &c. Sicut Isaias dicit: Vere absconditus tu es Deus.

Sic Iohan. 14. Cum Philippus iuxta Theologiam gloriae diceret: Ostende nobis Patrem, Mox Christus retraxit et in seipsum reduxit eius volatilem cogitatum querendi Deum alibi, dicens: Philippe, qui videt me, videt et patrem meum. Ergo in Christo crucifixo est vera Theologia et cognitio Dei. Et Ioh. 10. Nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me. Ego sum ostium &c.

turn to be known from passions and to condemn that invisible wisdom through visible wisdom, so that thus those who did not honor God manifested from works, would honor him hidden in passions, just as he says in 1 Cor. 1[:21]: "Because in the wisdom of God the world did not know God through wisdom, it pleased God to make believing ones saved through the foolishness of proclamation." Thus now it is not enough and not even useful to anyone, who is acquainted with God in glory and majesty, unless he should be acquainted with the same in the humility and ignominy of the cross. Thus he [God] destroys the wisdom of the wise etc. just as Isaiah [45:15] says: "Truly you are a hidden God."

So Jn. 14[:8] when Philip was speaking like the theology of glory: "Show us the Father." Soon Christ drew him back in and led his flighty thought of searching for God elsewhere back to Himself, saying: "Philip, he who sees me, also sees my Father." [John 14:9] Therefore in Christ crucified is true theology and acquaintance with God. And Jn. 10: "No one comes to the Father except through me." [14:6] "I am the door &c." [10:9]

XXI.

Theologus gloriae dicit Malum bonum et bonum malum, Theologus crucis dicit id quod res est.

Patet quia dum ignorat Christum, ignorat Deum absconditum in passionibus, Ideo praefert opera passionibus et gloriam cruci, potentiam infirmitati, sapientiam stulticiae, et universaliter bonum malo. Tales sunt quos Apostolus vocat Inimicos crucis Christi. Utique quia odiunt crucem et passiones, Amant vero opera et gloriam illorum, Ac sic bonum crucis dicunt malum et malum operis dicunt bonum. At Deum non inveniri nisi in passionibus et cruce, iam dictum est. Ideo amici crucis dicunt crucem esse bonam et opera mala, quia per crucem destruuntur opera et crucifigitur Adam, qui per opera potius aedificatur. Impossibile est enim, ut non infletur operibus suis bonis, qui non prius exinanitus et destructus est passionibus et malis, donec sciat seipsum esse nihil et opera non sua sed Dei esse.

21.

A theologian of glory calls bad good and good bad, the theologian of the cross calls it what thing it is.

... lies open because while one does not know Christ, one does not know God hidden in passions; therefore that one prefers works to passions and glory to the cross, power to weakness, wisdom to foolishness, and, universally, good to bad. Such are those which the Apostle calls enemies to the cross of Christ. [Phil. 3:18] Because, certainly they hate the cross and passions; truly they love work and their glory; thus, moreover, they call the good of the cross bad and they call the bad of work good. But God is not to be found except in passions and the cross, as was already said. Therefore, friends of the cross say that the cross is good and works are bad, because through the cross works are destroyed and Adam is crucified, who was more edified through works. For it is impossible, that one not be blown up by his good works, who is not first emptied and demolished by passions and evils, until one knows that oneself is nothing and one's works are not one's but God's.

XXII.

Sapientia illa, quae invisibilia Dei ex operibus intellecta conspicit, omnino inflat, exaecat et indurat.

Id iam dictum est, Quia ex quo crucem ignorant atque

22.

That wisdom which observes the invisible things of God as understood from works, entirely inflates, cuts off, and makes hard.

This already has been said; because they who do not know

odiunt, necessario contraria diligunt, scilicet sapientiam, gloriam et potentiam &c. Ideo tali amore magis excaecantur et indurantur. Impossibile est enim, quod {363} cupiditas satietur his, quae cupit, acquisitis. Sicut enim crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit, Sic hydropisis animae, quo plus bibit, plus sitit, ut Poeta: Quo plus potantur, plus sitiuntur aquae. Sic Eccle. 1. ca. Non saturatur oculus visu nec auditu auris. Sic de omnibus cupiditatibus.

Quare et curiositas sciendi non saturatur acquisita sapientia, sed magis accenditur. Sic cupiditas gloriae non saturatur acquisita gloria, Nec cupido dominandi saturatur potestate et imperio, Nec cupido laudis saturatur laude &c. Ut Iohan. 4. Christus significat dicens: Qui bibit aqua hac, sitiet iterum.

Restat ergo remedium, ut non explendo curetur, sed extinguendo, id est, ut qui vult fieri sapiens non querat sapientiam procedendo, sed fiat stultus querendo stulticiam retrocedendo. Sic qui vult fieri potens, gloriosus, voluptuosus, satur omnium rerum, fugiat potius quam querat potentiam, gloriam, voluptatem omniumque rerum saturitatem. Haec sapientia illa est, quae mundo est stulticia.

XXIII.

Et lex iram Dei operatur, occidit, maledicit, reum facit, iudicat, damnat, quicquid non est in Christo.

Sic ad Galatas 3. Christus liberavit nos de maledicto Legis. Et ibidem: Qui sunt ex operibus Legis, sub maledicto sunt. Et Roma. 4. Lex iram operatur. Et Roma. 7. Quod erat ad vitam, inventum est mihi esse ad mortem. Roma. 2. Qui in Lege peccaverunt, per Legem indicabuntur. Igitur qui gloriatur in Lege tanquam sapiens et doctus, gloriatur in confusione sua, in maledicto suo, in ira Dei, in morte, ut illi Roma. 2. Quid gloriaris in Lege?

XXIIII.

Non tamen sapientia illa mala nec Lex fugienda, sed homo sine Theologia crucis optimis pessime abutitur.

Quia Lex sancta et omne donum Dei bonum, omnis creatura bona valde Gene. 1. Sed sicut supra dictum est, qui nondum est destructus, ad nihilum redactus per crucem et

and hate the cross necessarily treasure the opposite, namely wisdom, glory, and power &c. Therefore by such love they become further blinded and hardened. For it is impossible, that desire should be satiated by the acquisitions of these which it longs for. For just as the love of money waxes as much as money itself waxes, so too with dropsy of the soul, where the more it drinks, the more it thirsts, as the Poet [says]: "The more gulped down, the more water is thirsted for." Thus in Eccl. ch. 1: "the eye is not filled with vision nor the ear with hearing." [1:8] So with all things in greed.

Wherefore the inquisition for knowledge is not satiated with the acquisition of wisdom, but is further inflamed. Thus desire for glory is not satiated by the acquisition of glory; neither is the desire for lordship satiated by potency and authority; nor is the desire for praise satiated by praise &c. As Christ in Jn. 4 shows, saying: "The one who drinks this water will thirst again." [Jn. 4:13]

Therefore the remedy stands firm, as it is not procured in filling up, but in extinguishing, that is, as the one who wants to become wise does not seek wisdom by advancing, but should become a fool by falling back into seeking foolishness. Similarly, the one who wants to become powerful, glorious, delighted, [and] well-fed in all things, should rather flee than seek power, glory, delight, and satiety in all things. This is that wisdom which is folly to the world.

23.

And the law works the wrath of God; it kills, curses, makes guilty, judges, and damns whatever is not in Christ.

Thus Gal. 3: "Christ liberated us from the curse of the Law." [3:13] And the same: "The ones who are according to works of the Law, are under a curse." [3:10] And Rom. 4: "The Law works wrath." [4:15] And Rom. 7: "That which was toward life, was discovered to be toward death for me." [7:10] Rom. 2: "The ones who sinned within the Law will be accused by the Law" [2:12] Therefore, the one who glories in the Law just as a wise and learned one, glories in one's confusion, in one's curse, in God's wrath, and in death, as to that one in Rom. 2 "Do you boast in the Law?" [2:23]

24.

Nevertheless, that wisdom is not bad nor is the law to be fled, but man without the theology of the cross badly squanders the best.

Because the Law is holy [Rom. 7:12] and every gift of God good [1 Tim. 4:4], [and] every created thing good (powerfully put in Gen. 1[:31]). But, just as was said above,

passionem, sibi tribuit opera et sapientiam, non autem Deo, et sic abutitur donis Dei eaque polluit.

Qui vero est per passiones exinanitus, iam non operatur, sed Deum in se operari et omnia agere novit. Ideo sive operetur sive non, idem sibi est, nec gloriatur si operetur, nec confunditur si non operetur Deus in eo: sibi scit satis esse, si patitur et destruitur per crucem, ut magis annihiletur. Sed hoc est, quod Christus ait Iohan. 3. Oportet vos renasci denuo, Si renasci, ergo prius mori et exaltari cum filio hominis: Mori, inquam, id est, mortem praesentem sentire. {364}

XXV.

Non ille iustus est qui multum operatur, sed qui sine opere multum credit in Christum.

Quia iusticia Dei non acquiritur ex actibus frequenter iteratis, ut Aristoteles docuit, sed infunditur per fidem. Iustus enim ex fide vivit Roma. 1. et 10. Corde creditur ad iusticiam. Unde illud 'sine opere' sic volo intelligi, Non quod iustus nihil operetur, sed quod opera eius non faciunt eius iusticiam, sed potius iusticia eius facit opera. Sine enim opere nostro gratia et fides infunditur, qua infusa iam sequuntur opera. Sic Roma. 3. dicitur: Ex operibus Legis non iustificabitur omnis homo, Et Roma. 3. Arbitramur enim iustificari hominem per fidem sine operibus Legis, id est, ad iustificationem nihil faciunt opera. Deinde, quia opera, quae ex tali fide facit, non sua sed Dei esse novit, Ideo non se per illa iustificari aut glorificari querit, sed Deum querit: sua sibi sufficit iusticia ex fide Christi, id est, ut Christus sit eius sapientia, iusticia &c. ut 1. Corinth. 1. dicitur, ipse vero sit Christi operatio seu intrumentum.

XXVI.

Lex dicit 'Fac hoc', et nunquam fit: Gratia dicit 'Crede in hunc', et iam facta sunt omnia.

Primum patet per Apostolum et interpretem eius B. Augustinum in multis locis, Et supra satis dictum est, quod Lex potius iram operatur et sub maledicto tenet omnes. Secundum patet per eosdem, quia fides iustificat, Et Lex (ait

the one who is not yet destroyed, driven back toward nothing through the cross and passion, bestows works and wisdom on oneself, moreover, not to God, and thus wastes the gifts of God and pollutes them.

Truly, the one who is emptied by passions, now does not work, but knows that God works and does all in him. Therefore, whether one works or not, it is the same to him, that one neither glories if he works, nor gets mixed up if God does not work in him: he understands that it is enough, if he suffers and is destroyed through the cross, so that he is annihilated further. But this is what Christ said in Jn. 3[:7]: "It is necessary you all be born again." If one is to be born again, then one needs to first die and be lifted up with the Son of Man: to die, I say, that is, to feel death at hand.

25.

That one is not righteous who works much, but he who without work believes much in Christ.

Because the righteousness of God is not acquired from acts frequently repeated, as Aristotle taught, but is poured in through faith. "For the righteous live by faith" (Rom. 1) and [chapter] 10: "It is believed by the heart towards righteousness." [10:10] Whence I want that phrase "without work" to be understood thus: It is not that the righteous one works nothing, but that his works do not produce his righteous, but rather his righteousness produces works. For grace and faith are poured in without our work, from which in-pouring works follow. So it is said in Rom. 3: "Every man will not be justified from works of the Law." [3:20] And Rom. 3: "For we hold that men are justified through faith without works of the Law," [3:28] that is, works can do nothing toward justification. Then, for that reason, one knows that works, which one produces from such faith, are not his but of God. Therefore, one does not seek to have himself be justified or glorified through these, but seeks God: to him his justification from Christian faith is sufficient, that is, that Christ may be his wisdom, righteousness, &c. as it is said in 1 Cor. 1[:30], that he himself truly may be Christ's service or instrument.

26.

The law says 'do this', and it is done never; grace says 'believe in this', and already all is done.

The first claim lies open through the Apostle and his interpreter St. Augustine in many places, and above it was sufficiently said, that the Law rather works wrath and keeps all under a curse. The second claim lies open from the same,

B. Augustinus) imperat, quod fides impetrat. Sic enim per fidem Christus in nobis, imo unum cum nobis est. At Christus est iustus et omnia implens Dei mandata, quare et nos per ipsum omnia implemus, dum noster factus est per fidem.

because faith justifies, and the Law (says St. Augustine) reigns, what faith obtains [N.B. play on words]. For Christ is thus in us through faith, or rather, he is one with us. Yet, Christ is righteous and fulfills all the commandments of God, whereby we also fulfill all things through him himself, while he is made ours through faith.

XXVII.

Recte opus Christi diceretur operans et nostrum operatum, ac sic operatum placere Deo gratia operis operantis.

27.

The work of Christ would correctly be called working [operans] and ours worked [operatum], and thus that worked [work] would please God by the grace of working work.

Quia dum Christus in nobis habitat per fidem, iam movet nos ad opera per vivam illam fidem operum suorum. Opera enim, quae ipse facit, sunt impletiones mandatorum Dei nobis data per fidem, quae cum intuemur, movemur ad imitationem eorum. Ideo ait Apostolus: Imitatores Dei estote, sicut filii charissimi. Quare misericordiae opera excitantur ad operibus eius, quibus salvavit nos, Sicut ait B. Gregorius: Omnis Christi actio est nostra instructio, imo commotio. Si actio eius in nobis, vivit per fidem, vehementer enim allicit Iuxta illud: Trahe me post te, in odorem unguentorum tuorum currimus, id est, operum tuorum. {365}

Because, while Christ dwells in us through faith, he stirs us to works through that living faith in his works. For the works, which he himself does, are fulfillments of God's commands given to us through faith, which when we consider them, we are moved toward imitation of them. Therefore, the Apostle says: "Be imitators of God, just as beloved sons." [Eph. 5:1] Whence works of mercy are aroused toward his works, by which he saved us, As St. Gregory says: "Each work of Christ is our instruction, or rather propulsion." If his act is in us, it lives through faith, for he vigorously entices like that verse: "Take me after you, we run toward the scent of your oils." [Song of Sol. 1:4, 3] [*Search Luther's commentary for his further thoughts on this*]

XXVIII.

Amor Dei non invenit sed creat suum diligibile, Amor hominis fit a suo diligibili.

28.

The love of God does not find but creates what is lovable; the love of man results from what is lovable to it.

Secunda pars patet et est omnium Philosophorum et Theologorum, Quia objectum est causa amoris ponendo iuxta Aristotelem, omnem potentiam animae esse passivam et materiam et recipiendo agere, ut sic etiam suam philosophiam testetur contrariam esse Theologiae, dum in omnibus querit quae sua sunt et accipit potius bonum quam tribuit. Prima pars patet, quia amor Dei in homine vivens diligit peccatores, malos, stultos, infirmos, ut faciat iustos, bonos, sapientes, robustos et sic effluit potius et bonum tribuit. Ideo enim peccatores sunt pulchri, quia diliguntur, non ideo diliguntur, quia sunt pulchri. Ideo amor hominis fugit peccatores, malos. Sic Christus: Non veni vocare iustos, sed peccatores. Et iste est amor crucis ex curce natus, qui illuc sese transfert, non ubi invenit bonum quo fruatur, sed ubi bonum conferat malo et egeno. Beatius est enim dare quam accipere, ait Apostolus. Unde Psal. 41. Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem, Cum tamen obiectum intellectus naturaliter esse non possit, id quod nihil est, id est, pauper vel egenum, sed entis, veri,

The second part lies open and is of every philosopher and theologian, because the cause of love is the object assuming, like Aristotle, that all potency of the spirit is passive and is material and acts in receiving, so that thus he testifies that even his philosophy is contrary to theology, as long as it seeks in all things those which are its and accepts rather than gives good. The first part lies open, because the love of God which lives in man, cherishes sinners, evil ones, fools, and the frail, so that he makes them righteous, good, wise, robust, and thus the love of God both rather pours forth and grants good. For, therefore, sinners are good-looking because they are cherished; they are not cherished, because they are good-looking. Therefore, the love of man flees from sinners and evil ones. So Christ: "I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners." [Matt. 9:13] And that is the love of the cross born of the cross, which transfers itself to where it does not find good which it might enjoy, but where it joins good together with the evil and destitute. For "to give is more blessed than to receive," says the Apostle. [Acts 20:35]

boni. Ideo indicat secundum faciem et accipit personam hominum et iudicat secundum ea quae patent &c.

Finis.

{WA 9:170} He Conclusiones sunt a me ideo tractate ac disputate, ut ostenderem, primo quod longe lateque ab Aristotelis sententia aberrarint omnium Scholarum Sophiste ac plane sua somnia in Aristotelis non intellecti libros invexerint. Deinde ut, si quam maxime sensum eius teneamus (quemadmodum hic tradidi), tamen prorsus nihil adiumenti ex ipso haberi possit non solum ad Theologiam seu sacras literas, verum etiam ad ipsam naturalem philosophiam. Quid enim iuvet ad rerum cognitionem, si de materia, forma, motu, finito, tempore nugari et cavillari queas verbis ab Aristotele conceptis et prescriptis?[1]

Whence Ps. 41: "Blessed is he who realizes the destitute and poor;" [Ps. 41:1] yet, intellect is not able to be by nature that object which is nothing, that is, the poor or the destitute, but those things of essence: the concrete and the good. Therefore it exposes according to appearance, accepts the character of men, and judges according to that which lies open.

The End.

These theses were discussed and also disputed by me, so that I would show, first, that the Sophists of all the schools have strayed far and wide from Aristotle's opinion and also plainly imported their dreams into Aristotle's books whom they did not understand. Then, so that I would show that, if we should hold his understanding as entirely as how I have delivered here, nevertheless entirely nothing helpful can be had from the very man himself, not only for theology or Holy Scripture, but, yes, even for his own natural philosophy. For does it help the knowledge of things any, if you should be able to cajolingly dupe and banter about material, form, motion, finity, and time with words conceived and prescribed by Aristotle?

[1] WA 9, 170

Luther's Preface to *On the Spirit and the Letter*

Luther's preface to Augustine's *On the Spirit and the Letter* has been historically misdated to the year 1518. This was questioned as early as 1723 by Löscher in the second volume of *Vollständige Reformations-Acta und Documenta*.[6] Due to the polemical tone of the preface, Löscher suggested that the earliest it may have been written was 1522. Such a date, however, is still too early as shown by the editor of WA Br. 12.[7] There the editor uses Luther's opening reference to the decision by the theological faculty of Wittenberg for Augustine's *On the Spirit and the Letter* to be commonly read to date this preface to no earlier than 1533 which is when this decision is first documented.

As for the textual tradition, it is rather simple. In 1556 Johann Aurifaber first published the preface in his *Tomus Primus Epistolarum ... Martini Lutheri*. This was done from a copy in Luther's hand now no longer extant. Each subsequent printing has been a recreation of this original, as is true here.[8] Only one error appears to have been made by Aurifaber: that of swapping an 'o' for an 'a' as noted below. It was Aurifaber who began the dating confusion, erroneously thinking that Luther's preface was to Carlstadt's 1518 work on *On the Spirit and the Letter* as documented in the letters he placed surrounding it.

Luther's preface to *On the Spirit and the Letter* is therefore not included in the present volume on account of its dating but on the context it provides to Luther's relationship with Augustine. As can be seen above in the Heidelberg Disputation, Luther references and puts forth not only Augustine, but more specifically his *On the Spirit and the Letter* rather frequently early on in his career. The praise Luther expresses later in life shows just how profound this impact was and the direction of his development.

Praefatio R. P. D. Martini Lutheri in libellum S. Augustini de Spiritu et Litera ex autographo descripta.

Non sine causa statutum est, ut his libellus S. Augustini de spiritu et litera in hac schola publice legeretur, praesertim hoc seculo nostro, in quo Papistae plus quam Pelagiani rabiose etiam insectantur gratiam Dei, qua gratis iustificamur in Christo, ut defendant et stabiliant suas satisfactiones, missas et merita. Quare debent studiosi theologiae hunc libellum sibi facere familiarem, ut resistere possint et confutare voces illa rabiosas Papistarum vociferantium, nos novum doctrinae genus in ecclesiam invehere. Nam hic liber S. Augustini non est novus, sed convincit Papistas esse novorum dogmatum inventores, qui huic doctrinae veteri et ab apostolis traditae superinduxerunt suas impias et sacrilegas opiniones, quibus eam flagellaverunt, crucifixerunt et sepelierunt.

Exstat apud eos vox satis satanica, sed pro canone theologico illis habita, scilicet Augustinum in his rebus esse locutum excessive. Sic enim eluserunt sancti viri doctrinam

Preface of the Rev. Fr. Doc. Martin Luther on the Booklet of St. Augustine *On the Spirit and the Letter*, from a Recorded Holograph.

It is not decided without cause, that this booklet of St. Augustine *On the Spirit and the Letter* be read commonly in this school, particularly in this age of ours, in which the Papists more than the Pelagians are also rabidly pursuing God's grace, by which we are freely justified in Christ, so that they preserve and solidify their satisfactions [for sins], masses, and merits. Wherefore they ought to make this booklet of studious theology familiar to them, so that they can resist and silence those rabid voices of the Papists who scream that we import a new kind of teaching into the church. For this book of St. Augustine is not new, but convicts that the Papists are the inventors of new doctrines, who lay on top of this doctrine of old passed on by the apostles their impious and sacrilegious opinions, by which they flogged, crucified, and entombed it.

There stands out among them a voice quite satanical, but it is held as a theological canon by them, namely, that Augustine has spoken excessively. For thus they taunted the

[6] p. 583

[7] Luther's preface to *On the Spirit and the Letter* may be found at WA Br. 12, 386.

[8] Luther's preface may also be found at: Schmidt, Henricus *D. Martini Lutheri Opera Latina Varii Argumenti* 7, 488-490 and St.L 14, cols. 184-185.

et operam, ne vincerentur autoritate S. Augustini et cogerentur sua commenta nefaria deserere: quo simul testimonium sibi ipsis sunt, non ignoranter sese docuisse et defendisse sua portenta, ut qui pulchre scirent et legissent Augustinum longe lateque ipsis dissentire. Unus ex illis Gregorius Ariminensis ausus est Lutetiae Augustinum producere et Sophistis opponere in hac materia, sed non praevaluit, scilicet obruentibus eum Sorbonae theologis et pro Pharisaico suo supercilio decernentibus, Augustinum esse locutum excessive.

Cum igitur non sit cuiusvis omnia opera Augustini sibi comparare, necessarium visum est pro tenuioribus unum et alterum libellum S. Augustini edere, ut videat unusquisque, nos neque primos, neque solos esse, qui Sophistarum impiam theologiam impugnare ausi simus, neque nos esse sed ipsos potius fuisse novarum rerum autores in ecclesia Dei, qui relictis terminis, quos Patres constituerunt, corda simplicium in suos tortuosos et devios colles [scil.: calles] (ut Scriptura dicit) c: ut iuxta verbum Prophetae populus Christi sit ipsius oblitus diebus innumeris et coactus fornicari cum infinitis amatoribus, seu diis alienis, qui nec die nec nocte eis requiem dederunt.

De laudibus vero Augustini nihil hoc loco dicam, nisi hoc unum, quod experientia doctus possum affirmare tuto, post sacras litera nullum esse doctorem in ecclesia, qui sit illi conferendus eruditione Christiana. Aliis suas laudes concedo, sint loquentes ut Chrysostomus, literis secularibus instructi ut Hieronymus, sed in omnibus simul collectis non invenies dimidium, quantum in solo Augustino. Quare si potes et tibi vacat, post sacras literas elige tibi magistrum hunc S. Augustinum, maxime ubi contra Pelagianos, Donatistas et Manicheos pugnat. Hic est enim vir solidae eruditionis in Christo. Habet sane et ipse libros quosdam in principio suae functionis scriptos, sed hos legendos esse censeo, ubi horas habebis superfluas et otiosas, quales ego non paucas aliquando perdidi in Hieronymo, Chrysostomo et similibus. Quod si mihi experto non credis, poteris mea quidem causa ipse periculum facere et postea mecum poenitere. Dominus noster dirigat et servet nos Spiritu suo sancto in gloriam suam et salutem nostram. Amen.

teaching and work of the holy man, so that they would not be defeated by the authority of St. Augustine and rounded up by his arguments to abandon wickedness: by which they themselves at the same time testify against themselves that they have not ignorantly taught and defended their omens, so that they beautifully know and read that Augustine disagrees with them far and wide. Because of them, Gregory of Rimini, dared to bring out Augustine at Paris and to oppose the Sophists in this matter, but did not prevail, namely, by the theologians of the Sorbonne burying him and by them deciding on behalf of their Pharisaic haughtiness that Augustine has spoken excessively.

Therefore, since whomever chosen is not able to get a hold of the complete works of Augustine for himself, it seems necessary to publish for the delicate this and that booklet of St. Augustine, so that each person sees that we are neither the first nor the only ones who have dared to fight the impious theology of the Sophists, nor that we, but rather they, were the authors of new things in the church of God, who by having left behind the limits, which the Fathers instituted, threw the simple-hearted headlong down their twisting and devious rocky paths (as Scripture says) [Prov. 2:15]: so that, like the word of the Prophet, the people of Christ are forgetful of him, the very one, for innumerable days and are gathered to fornicate with unlimited lovers [Jer. 3:1], or with foreign gods, who neither by day nor by night gave them respite.

Truly, let me say nothing here on the praises of Augustine, except this one, that I am able to safely affirm in learned experience, that after the sacred scriptures there is not a teacher in the church, who is to be matched to him in Christian learning. I concede to others their praise who might speak like Chrysostom, [or] who have instructed in secular literature as Jerome, but in everyone held together at once you will not find half as much in Augustine alone. Wherefore if you can and are free to, after the sacred scriptures choose as a mentor for yourself this St. Augustine, where he maximally fights against the Pelagians, Donatists, and Manichaeans. For here is of solid learning in Christ. He himself reasonably has certain books written in the beginning of his career, but I judge that these are to be read, when you will have overflowing and leisurely hours, not a small amount of which kind I at one time destroyed in Jerome, Chrysostom and similar men. If you do not believe me well-proven with respect to this, then you are able to, indeed, for my sake, create peril and afterwards to be sorry, joining me. May our Lord direct and watch over us by his holy Spirit for his glory and our salvation. Amen.

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